

THE REMINISCENCES OF CARL SCHURZ
facto restored; that, therefore, the rebellion
having actually
ceased, those States were at once entitled to
their former rights
and privileges—that is, to the recognition of their
self-elected
State governments, and to their representation
in Congress.
Admitting the premises, this was logically
correct in the ab-
stract.

But this was one of the cases to which a saying
many years
later set afloat by President Cleveland, might
properly have
been applied; we were confronting a condition,
not a theory.
The condition was this: Certain States had
through their
regular political organs declared themselves
independent of
the Union. They had for all practical purposes
actually separated
themselves from the Union. They had made
war upon the
Union. That war put those States in a position
not foreseen
by the Constitution. It imposed upon the
Government of the
Union duties not foreseen by the Constitution; by
"military
necessity," war-necessity, the Union was
compelled to eman-
cipate the negroes from slavery and to accept
their military
services. The war had compelled the Government
of the Union
also to levy large loans of money and thus to
contract a huge
public debt. The Government had, also, in the
course of the
war the aid of the Union men of the South. It
had thus as-
sumed solemn obligations for value received, or
services rendered—that is, it had assumed the duty to
protect the emanci-

pated negroes in their freedom, the Southern
Union men in
their security, and the public creditor as to the
money due him,
TMs duty was a duty of honor as well as of policy.
The Union
could, therefore, not consent, either in point of
honor, or of
sound policy, to the restoration of the late rebel
States to the
fractions of self-government and to full
participation in the
National Government so long as that restoration
was reasonably
certain to put the freedom of the
emancipated slaves, or